754 we are already familiar.
278 Another mixture consisted of ground mica, a toad, and ground snake fangs.

The red nlŭ usually contains:
1. Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (see above);
[825] 2. a red crab from the forest (nkŏ́ŏ́ělě kɛ̄'dă̄) (1):

1. The animal is supposed to make a sound that is reproduced by ɛ̄ɛ̄, ɛ̄ɛ̄.

3. a kind of scorpion (nsīsā), ground;
4. a chameleon, ground;
5. Mucuna pruriens D.C. (see above).

The black nlŭ contains:
1. ngō-akɔ'k or ekɔ̄l-akɔ'k, fungus soil dried and ground;
2. akŭn, a fungus growth that lives under water, which is supposed to be very poisonous;
[825] 3. nlŏ́ŏ́o ngŭ̄n, a centipiede which is greatly feared because of its poison.

The preparation of nlŭ is carried out in the most ingenious manner by expert medicine men. For this purpose, the men sew [287] for themselves a special suit made of the bark of the ondŭ́m tree [292] (Fig. 50). This suit resembles a long shirt and leaves only the head and hands exposed; these parts of the body are then rubbed [87.9] with an extract of Heckeria subpeltata (Wild.) Kunth (abɔ̄mĕ̄dăă'l), [159] principally in order to protect them against the very poisonous hairs of the Mucuna that fly about. With this preparation, the poison mixers proceed to pound the dried components in a pot and and to mix them by stirring. For this purpose they use a long stick so that they can stay as far away as possible from the poisonous mixture. Indeed, they go even further and call upon old leprous [734] persons to collect and pour the poison into little horns or bags [159] (Fig. 51), since in their case it would not matter if in the process they were to become sick or even die.

278 I am, of course, unable to judge. /148/

757 In the class of preventives are the leaves of Phyllanthus
[751] gracilipes Pax (esǎ́n elǐ), which are eaten whole or ground. As an antidote for poison in food, the Jaunde use the Corynanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (evɛ̌) and the Sida acuta L. var. carpinifolia K. Schum. (sìsǐm IV), the leaves being ground and eaten. In the Fang region a medicine consisting of the following ingredients is used:

1. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth (abɔ̌́mɛ̌dzǎ́n), the leaves or stalks ground;
2. ripe bananas (adžūe) cut in pieces;
3. Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edzɔ̄́le), bark scraped off;
4. Pachybbus macrophyllus Oliv. (andɔ̂lɔ̌́m), bark scraped off;
5. Abrus pulchellus Wall. (ozɛ̌́ zɔ̌ge III, eloensǔ, "herb to counteract nsǔ"), leaves ground;
6. Desplasia dewevrei De Wild et Burs. (afɔ̌nɔ̌k), bark scraped off.

These six ingredients are placed in water, and then the extract is drunk. As an antidote for poisoned bullets, the first three of the above are mixed together, and the mixture is eaten dry.

754 A further use of nsǔ is called zɔ̄, from zɔ̌, "leopard," because the whiskers of the leopard are used for it. Just as the leopard tracks its victim /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text/ by mean of its whiskers and then treacherously pounces on it, the zɔ̄ thrower wants the same effect. A piece of such a whisker about half a centimeter long is drawn through a fruit of the umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br. (asɔ̌́n), Figure 52, to form a small missile which is dipped in the magic medicine and then hurled at the opponent. If it hits the opponent's skin, he is supposed to get sick and die within three to six days. I myself once had an experiment performed with this "poisoning" -- something I felt justified in doing in view of the natives' conviction concerning its purely mystical effectiveness. Naturally the experiment was unsuccessful. Meanwhile, this did not disconcert my informant; he thought that perhaps the medicine he had been given was not the right one. Aside from being put on whiskers,
[674] nsǔ is also sprinkled on darts which are shot from ambush when the

754 enemy happens to be dancing with other people at some festivity
674 and in the general excitement does not notice when the missile hits him.

As a preventive against zŏ, a medicine is recommended
754 which consists of:
751 1. Albizzia fastigiata (E. Mey.) Oliv. (sŏ'ne), ground resin;
278 2. Musanga smithii R. Br., ground involucral leaf (it is slippery); /149/
3. Pouzolzia guineensis Benth, Urticacea (mbŏanĕ III), its leaves ground;

Fig. 52. Magic Medicine of a Sŏ Thrower, i.e., a Sorcerer or Poisoner.

4. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth. (abŏ'mĕdzĭ'n), stalk scraped off;
5. Corynanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (evĕ), its leaves ground;
6. an unidentifiable Euphorbiacea (ayŏ), its leaves ground.

This medicine is added to the red wood which is smeared on
[302] the body as a festive decoration.

2. Medicines for Acquiring Luck and Warding Off Misfortune

777
751 I combine these apparently different medicines because there is a number of them that serve both purposes, the acquisition of good fortune and protection against misfortune. Medicines for warfare, for instance, give one unerring aim as well as protection against bullets. The majority, to be sure, are specific means for obtaining luck or warding off misfortune. The Pangwe designate them as bĭĭ́n because they are intended to guard against an illness, for he conceives misfortune or the endangering of his good fortune as an illness. We shall do best to take over this conception and to call these devices "medicines." The medicines for good luck are supposed to bring, above all, wealth and good fortune in love, shooting, setting traps, catching fish, and wrestling. The medicines for wealth (bĭĭ́n akū'ma) are based in part on the

777 conceptions developed in connection with the veneration of
751 ancestors, concerning the influence of the ancestors, who live where Nsambe does, on the terrestrial well-being of their
754 descendants. The most important of the medicines for wealth,
777 atum or aseb, that is, the Mekuk medicine, is based on the ideas of sorcery which I discussed in the previous section /Ed., not translated/. The skulls needed for the ancestor cult are not in
[169] this case those from relatives who died a natural death, but from those who were murdered secretly by sorcery (poisoning). Each biǎ́ akūma, therefore, is a nsõm, a sin. The murder victims,
[826] or rather their souls, are called mekūk (1). A person who keeps

1. Etymologically related to nkúk, "upper part of the body." Perhaps we have here an intentional circumlocution, because the Pangwe like to avoid the real designation for their mesõm (sins).

the skulls in order to acquire wealth is called e mõde a bělě mekūk (= e mõde a n'a mekūk), that is, the man who has the Mekuk. I have known a Mekuk man who had no less than ten skulls of his murdered relatives in his house. In addition, the Mekuk man possesses magical devices which he sells on request together with the skulls in exchange for an excessive payment from people who themselves want to become Mekuk men. The latter are of course only sorcerers, that is, people who -- as was said in Section 12 /Ed., not translated/ -- receive the power to practice sorcery in their youth through a medicine, but who perhaps until then had not yet used their power and now want to train themselves in the specialized field of Mekuk medicine. For this purpose, their teacher demands that they murder a close relative, usually a father or mother, and bring him the skull. He himself will give them in exchange an older /150/ skull from his own collection and in addition frequently the back bones. The first
[608] skull of a Mekuk collection is therefore one of a stranger and has already been effective as a medicine. It is not an actual ancestral

751 A preventive device consists of a brass ring worn on the left thumb, the ring having first been given curative powers by the medicine man through certain ceremonies, for instance, by boiling it in medicines.

752 278 If someone is stung by a scorpion, his urine is applied to the spot, something that the Pangwe ordinarily do not do with wounds. Later, they attempt to dispel the morbid matter by evil smells; [126] for instance, a leaf with vaginal slime is placed on the wound. The explanation by the informant ran as follows in the best coastal English (1):

[124] 1. In order to avoid misunderstandings it should be emphasized that my Pangwe people gave their reports in their own language, but that their statements were checked with the help of an English-speaking interpreter.

Bumbo be bad ting, dem smell, he
Vagina is bad thing, (namely,) the smell, it

come de!
comes out.

An injured foot is put in water in which stalks of Palisota preussiana (epídpíú) have been pounded to bits, or heated leaves of the calabash (ndók IV), together with oil, are rubbed on the injury, "because the calabash has a bad smell."

The very painful puncture made by the spiny-finned sheatfish (kɔ́mɛ̌ɛ̀m IV), for instance, Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.) (mɔ̀ɔ́ I) pictured on Plate 9 of Volume I, for whose dorsal /183/ spikes the fisherman has great respect, is made harmless by tying a rope tightly around the arm and then holding the spot over the fire.

The Pangwe combat wasp and bee stings with Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth (abɔ́medzɛ̀ɛ́).

Bullets, that is, the pieces of iron with which the rifle is loaded and which, due to the aimless firing practiced by the Pangwe

842 After this second part of the ceremony, called elum nzum, the
843 child is hidden for eight days in a hut, and women are forbidden to
789 see him during this time; he is now called mvun. On the morning of the eighth day, the men lay him on a mat in the village square and cover him with mats and cloths so that the women do not see him; the inhabitants of the village are again assembled, and the men of the husband's family step over the mvun one after the other, saying: madzune, e mvun ebue ni ngi me ki me nga kule abum, me bure (I say, the mvun is lying there; if it is I who caused the abortion, may I die). When all the men have passed, the child is taken away. Some time later the guilty one becomes sick, has a swollen abdomen, and dies, there being no possibility of caring for him. After his death, the woman is treated as in the case of natural abortion.

843 Pregnancy (ndzua abum). When a woman is pregnant, she is bound by numerous obligations and prohibitions which aim to care for the child which she carries so that she can bring it into the world in good health. [80]

843 The obligations consist of taking medicines; to prevent the child
757 from having sores in the womb of its mother, she takes an infusion of the roots of various trees. This medicine is called ese bibolo (to treat infections); if it is neglected, the child is born with infected sores which never heal.

The future mother must also go every three days into the brush and give herself a washing with a preparation of bark of ebom which has fermented in water. After each enema, water is added to the vessel containing the pieces of bark, which are kept until the delivery.

That the child may be strong, the pregnant woman anoints her abdomen with an ointment prepared by the midwife with padouk powder mixed with raphia oil and bark.

843 Finally, to prevent abortion, the woman wears on her skin, like a
757 belt, a piece of okum vine, which is not removed until after the birth of the child.

843 All this does not prevent the woman from continuing her work; when she feels tired, it is because the child is sick, and the midwife treats her with one of the medicines mentioned above. If the woman's husband has not had children for a long time, the future mother then enjoys much esteem; she receives gifts, and her husband pays a great deal of attention to her.

see it, and if she sees it she will have no more children. The mother is then washed with very hot water in which pimento has been steeped; after this her abdomen is bound with a belt of bark (ewag) which she keeps on for several days.

After the birth of her child, a young mother is known by the name of nzinze, which she keeps until she has the right to resume relations with her husband. She has a special bed in the hut, on which a menstruating woman may neither sit nor lie so as not to give scabies to the mother and the newborn. The young mother rests for about three months, during which she does no work and bathes every day with water as hot as she can stand, the lumbar region especially being bathed. Moreover, after every bath she is smeared with red paste (ba) to prevent scabies.

Recovery from childbirth is marked by a celebration (okula mon). The first time she goes out, the woman carries a package of ba, a piece of which she places on every tree stump she meets on her way, to mark her path. On her return she prepares a large quantity of food she has brought back. The husband invites the men of his tribe, and the wife invites the women of her husband's tribe. When the food is ready, it is taken to the men in the watchers' hut, where the child is also taken. The women eat in the hut.

To improve the quality of her milk, the young mother drinks progressively, if necessary, three medicines:

(1) An infusion of aseh roots.

(2) A milky-looking infusion of pieces of tubers of a plant with a thorny stem (ekon bŏkun).

(3) Latex from a rubber plant.

It may be that the child dies at birth. Three causes for this are recognized:

An evur has eaten the child. To prevent this from being repeated and so that the woman will in the future bring living children into the world, she resorts to the practitioner. He goes into the forest armed [83] with a machete and a basket. He gathers the bark of an ovan, and also brush and vines that grow under this tree. On his return to the village he divides his collection into two parts. One part, mixed with water, is put in a large rectangular container of banana leaves called etok, which has been filled with the blood of a domestic animal sacrificed for the welfare of the woman. She then immerses herself

of land by "elder sons" (mintôl) have certainly had an unfavorable demographic effect by upsetting the family structure—41 percent of adult males were unmarried in the Oyem subdivision in 1948. Finally, the wide-scale introduction of trade alcohol before 1914 and since 1946 has most certainly made things worse.

However, the magnitude of the crisis, which has primarily affected the Fang of Gabon, must not be exaggerated. The general demographic development might be summed up as follows:

Temporary increase in general mortality immediately after pacification, owing to greater spread of epidemics, particularly of smallpox and sleeping sickness, as a result of new means of mobility; possible rise of sterility rates with slight fall in the genital capacity /13/ owing to venereal infection, alcoholism, labor recruitment (above all in Gabon), and changes in family and village economic organization.

On the other hand, rapid and continuous fall in general mortality resulting from pacification; since about 1930 a falling-off of epidemics and general improvement in hygiene initiated; at present a decline in infant mortality. The universal application of wide-scale antimalarial prophylaxis (in the Cameroons) already allows us to anticipate a spectacular increase in the population.

Viewed as a whole, the balance between favorable and unfavorable factors appears to be on the positive side, in any case in areas not affected by the great Gabon famine of 1924. Moreover, awareness of demographic malaise must have partly resulted from the halting of migration, which made a sort of inventory possible. This awareness is especially perceptible in Gabon, where the situation seems to have been in fact more serious.

5. History and Traditions of Origin

The known history of the Pahouin group is that of a migration toward the sea, a migration in process of completion before our eyes.

Whence did it start? This is a very controversial question. Stoll, following Schweinfurth, speaks of Upper Egypt, as does Trilles, basing this opinion on linguistic and cultural arguments such as the use of the military crossbow and the shape of the saber (fa). It is this same shape that leads Tessmann to speak of Roman influence. Marche and

as strong interclan ties as does ngil; however, the initiation leader may belong to a different clan from the initiates.

Eyye (éyye or tyo?) is a purification and reconciliation rite, described by Father Guillemin for the Beti; it does not extend outside the ranks of an ayôm (segment).

Among the Boulou of Sangmélima, the Ntoumou of Ambam, and the Fang of Djoum, I found some medical society initiates who call themselves "snakes," using the proper word, benyo (sing. nyo), not the euphemism minkol afan (lit., bush lianas). Their specialty is treating bites and capturing and taming snakes. Initiates are known within the society under the name of one or another variety of snake, conferred at initiation. There are several degrees of initiation (three?): first-degree initiates /65/ are called bo' b'ayañ, children of the Dendraspis; advanced initiates are bo' be mvôm, children of the python. Their medical knowledge seems quite extensive; they claim, in particular, to be immune to /snake/ bites, thanks to the application of a special bian (medicament) through incisions at the time of initiation. The main center of this association would appear to be among the Mekaé of Mesamena, and it is therefore not properly Pahouin.

All these ritual associations contributed to social order mainly through defense against malevolent sorcerers. The sorcerers, for their part, are often organized in secret societies in order to join forces against the organs of control and repression. Inevitably, therefore, these societies are ill understood. Nearly all of them must have included beyem (sing. nnem), that is, bearers of évu. In fact, if one may be subject to possession involuntarily and even unknown to oneself, one may also nyoñ évu, receive évu, always in the sense of a burden. A person entering a beyem association has to pay for his entrance by the sacrifice of a near relative and also accept the imposition of a special prohibition, the breaking of which (nnem) brings instant death.

The ne mimfaka (lit., road panthers), notorious under the name of leopard-men, were an association of man-eating sorcerers, a kind of counter-ngil (1). Nowadays what is involved may well be a

1. There are also independent ne mimfaka.

pathologically degenerate form of the ngil itself. In the course of a

have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck. This is not the only example of the indirect intervention of one sex in a rite of the opposite sex. Allégret points out that it is a "woman who has had bad luck fishing" who "finds the ironwood for making the war fetish." It certainly seems that he has mixed up ngil with [illegible], but the example remains valuable. Therefore, though traditional rites and the associations of initiates of these rites were strictly masculine or feminine, this does not altogether exclude the intervention of the opposite sex. No more can be said in our present state of knowledge (2).

2. The other important women's rite, ngômbô, was more especially limited to old women. The participants built a sort of basin out of four banana trunks and their leaves, in which a vegetable biâñ /medicament/ was prepared that gave protection against theft. (J.B.)

Contemporary cults and associations, on the other hand, are open to both sexes, whether religious or politico-religious societies or mutual-aid associations.

The two principal politico-religious associations are the bwiti (or mbuti) and the ngil, well described by Balandier (no. 175). They have spread to the north from Gabon and the Middle Congo and are not of Pahouin origin. They are beginning to penetrate Boulou country, where they have not been as successful as among the Fang of the south, undoubtedly because of the lesser degree of social destruction.

Bwiti was originally a "tyogo" ancestor cult, comparable to the Pahouin [illegible], if one accepts Trilles. It must have first appeared among the Pahouin at the beginning of the century, probably among Pahouin families cut off from their clans and thus from the bièri and [illegible] rites, whose significance is primarily ethnic and familial. Libreville was an important point of contact, not only between African peoples of different stock, but also with European religious systems. Modern bwiti borrows a great deal from Christianity and also from freemasonry, which was fairly widespread in Gabon before the war, especially in half-caste circles and on the periphery of principal towns. In assuming this syncretist character, bwiti appears at the same time as a nationalist--or Africanist--movement and as a progressive movement abandoning the old cults or rather modernizing them. It is the

The group displays powerful shoulder girth, rather well-developed calf, pronounced arch, ungual phalanges that cannot be pulled back.

The explorers of the last century were one and all struck by the difference in physical appearance between the Pahouin and their neighbors, much less evident today, particularly to a European (the Pahouin themselves often recognize a stranger from quite a distance). It is possible that at the time of conquest the Pahouin may have had a heavier meat diet than did the coastal populations or do their present-day descendants: the hippopotamus has been exterminated, and the rest of the wild fauna has been greatly reduced, while even animal breeding and rearing is on the decline.

b. Clothing, Ornament, Body Marks

The traditional clothing as described by explorers hardly exists any more. One sometimes meets in remote villages the beaten fig-bark breechcloth, ɓɔ̀ɔ̀m, and the monkeyskin hat-wig, afɛ́ ɔ̀ɔ̀, which was the men's everyday dress, with a wide belt of antelope skin, ɛ̀ŋɛ̀, holding a sort of sporran as well as a saber sheath. Battle dress and full dress have become very rare; they included, in addition to a red-dyed ɓɔ̀ɔ̀m, a tailpiece /ndant/ of tiger-cat skin or of drill or any animal with bright fur, fringed leggings of the same fur, and a sort of cloak made of leopard or gorilla skin with the head sometimes forming a hood; there was a headdress of beads hanging down to the shoulders or arranged in the hair, with a tuft of touraco or juggler-eagle /aigle-bateleur/ feathers. Weapons consisted of the saber, fa, the dagger, otyɛn --both double bladed, the spear, akɔ̀ŋ, or rifle, ngal (the crossbow, mfɛn, was more a hunting weapon, and the bow, ngɛlɛ, a toy). Defensive armor included an oblong shield, ngɛ or ɛ́ndɛ̀ŋ, of plaited lianas or of leather, sometimes made of an elephant ear. Even today men do not like to leave home without a weapon, at least in the villages; formerly, they were always armed. Men's jewelry comprised copper bracelets and tooth necklaces—of either animal's or men's teeth—chains of copper, iron, ivory, or elephant hair. Protective "medicaments" mɛbiaŋ, were usually carried in an antelope horn (Cephalophus sylvicultrix), ɔlɔ' zɛ́p, hung around the neck or wrist on a strip of leather or snakeskin—a practice that still survives. The ceremonial costumes for the different rites /bɛ/ included masks, maracas of dried gourd, beads, or cowries.